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A GREAT MEETING OF THE FRIENDS OF PEACE.

The Proceedings of the National Peace Congress Held at Chicago, May 3-5.

BY JAMES L. TRYON.

National congresses have become a recognized means of promoting the peace movement. They educate public opinion and influence the action of governments. They are held annually in Great Britain, France and some other countries of the old world where the peace societies are progressive. Two such congresses have been held in the United States, both of them instructive and influential: one of them in New York City in April, 1907; the other in Chicago May 3, 4, 5, 1909.

The American National Peace Congresses, although they had certain characteristics in common, also had points of difference. These points of difference, though in some respects indicating less popular local interest taken in the Chicago Congress, marked on the whole an important stage in the advance of the peace movement. Both Congresses drew members from all parts of the country. Thirty-nine States, the Eastern, led by New York, predominating, sent delegates in 1907, and thirty-two States, chiefly the Middle Western and Southern, with Illinois leading, were represented at Chicago this year. Outside of New York, Pennsylvania had the largest number of members in the Congress of 1907; outside of Illinois, Indiana had the largest delegation this year. A total of 1,253 delegates registered at New York, about 560 at Chicago. In neither case, however, did the number of persons registered include the total number present, the galleries being filled at times with hundreds of spectators not counted in the membership of the Congress.

Both Congresses were proposed by the American Peace Society. That held in New York was an outgrowth from within, an expression of New York itself, preceded by months of public agitation in the form of meetings in churches, addresses to clubs and extensive notices in the press, under the direction of committees organized among New York people. The Chicago Congress was to a less extent an expression of Chicago. It was not only inspired, but to a large degree was organized from without, for, although local committees were formed to lend their support, the burden of oversight fell almost entirely upon Rev. Charles E. Beals, the Field Secretary of the American Peace Society, whose personal work during his residence in Chicago, extending from November to May, aroused the press, brought the Chicago leaders together and resulted in building up the program of addresses. Mr. Beals was assisted by Prof. Royal L. Melendy, who as Organizing Secretary combined with tireless energy executive talents of a high order, and followed out every detail of management with the utmost fidelity. Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin joined with Dr. Jenkyn Lloyd Jones and Rabbi E. G. Hirsch in giving counsel and using their influence at critical times. The Chicago Association of Commerce with splendid public spirit became largely responsible for the financial support necessary to holding the Congress, and took entire charge of the great banquet with which it ended.

The New York Congress was held on the eve of the second Hague Conference for the purpose of influencing

its proceedings. The Chicago Congress was held in connection with no special peace event, but was intended primarily to quicken the peace spirit in America, and in the second place to suggest the forward steps to be taken by the third Hague Conference in 1915. The New York Congress, being the first of its kind, was creative in its effect on popular thought. The exchange of a provincial patriotism for a broad internationalism was in the former case a comparatively new thing; to-day, with a second Hague Conference to prove the solidarity of the international consciousness, and two more years of education in the schools and colleges, by the pulpit and through the press, international brotherhood is becoming an accepted fact in the popular mind. One result of this change was shown in the note of certainty which marked the Chicago speeches, but which was at times lacking in those made at New York. In New York some of the speakers knew less about their subject than many of the people in their audience; in Chicago, owing in part to the advance in peace education and in part to the policy of the committee in choosing experts in the subjects treated, the speakers, nearly all of whom were leaders in peace thought, brought to their audiences the latest technical information to be obtained. The large contingent of workers from the Middle West, made up of members of the Society of Friends and of university men,—presidents, professors and students,—created an atmosphere of culture and ethical earnestness peculiarly adapted to bringing out the best that the heart and the mind had to offer.

Both Congresses made good use of music as an aid to the speaking; both used decorations, and had the great names of the peace movement placed about the hall where the eye could catch from them a suggestion of past effort and future endeavor. The New York Congress furnished several episodes and incidents of a dramatic character which could never be repeated, such as the presentation of the peace flag to Mr. Carnegie, his decoration with the badge of the French Legion of Honor and the appearance on the platform of distinguished scholars from Cambridge and Oxford Universities who had come to America to be present at the exercises held at the opening of the Carnegie Institute; but the Chicago Congress was fortunate in having the presence of several ambassadors and diplomatic representatives who came from Washington to do honor to the occasion, and, whatever its other merits may be, will long be notable for its comprehensive and informing program.

Among the representative men and women who were present at Chicago were President Schurman of Cornell University, President David Starr Jordan of Leland Stanford Junior University, Dean Rogers of the Cincinnati Law School, President John S. Nollen of Lake Forest College, Dr. Sylvester F. Scovel, ex-President of Wooster University, Ohio, Hon. Joseph B. Moore of the Supreme Court of Michigan, Congressmen Bartholdt and Tawney, Hon. Richard A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, and Hon. William I. Buchanan. Boston, the headquarters of the American Peace Society, was represented by Hon. Robert Treat Paine, President, Dr. Benjamin F.

Trueblood, Secretary, James L. Tryon, Assistant Secretary, Rev. Charles E. Beals, Field Secretary, and Mrs. Beals, Miss Mabel H. Kingsbury, Office Secretary, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin D. Mead, Miss Anna B. Eckstein, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews and Mrs. George F. Lowell. The Peace Society of the City of New York was represented by William H. Short, its Executive Secretary, Hamilton Holt of the New York *Independent* and Miss Mary J. Pierson of the Children's International Federation League, and the New York Italian Peace Society by Hon. A. Zucca, its President. A. B. Farquhar and others represented Pennsylvania. From California came Robert C. Root, Pacific Coast representative of the American Peace Society; from North Carolina, Prof. F. S. Blair of Guilford College; from Texas, Dr. S. P. Brooks, President of Baylor University, who was accompanied by two of his students. The Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs was represented by Louis P. Lochner of Wisconsin University, and the Intercollegiate Peace Association by George Fulk, its Secretary.

The sessions of the Congress were held in Orchestra Hall, a popular place of assembly quite in the heart of things, near the new University Club and the Auditorium Hotel. This hall seats nearly three thousand persons. Its reception room afforded ample space for the delegates to meet socially between sessions and went a long way towards promoting a cordial feeling of fellowship among them. Booths were erected here for the work of the Organizing Secretary, the Registration Bureau, the World Arbitration Petition of Miss Eckstein and the American Peace Society. At the booth of the Peace Society literature was distributed and members enrolled by Miss Kingsbury.

A MEETING OF TEACHERS.

Preliminary to the Congress a meeting of school teachers was held in Music Hall, Fine Arts Building, on Saturday, May 1. The vacation season and stormy weather prevented a large attendance, but excellent speaking more than made up for disappointment in numbers. Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Secretary of the American School Peace League, explained the purpose and scope of her Association, which is now making good progress in getting a membership of teachers and pupils throughout the country. Miss Mary J. Pierson of New York, the organizer of the children's meeting, which was one of the memorable features of the New York Peace Congress, a pioneer peace worker among children in America and founder of the Young People's International Federation League, which is everywhere enlisting school children into its ranks, made an effective appeal to the teachers to introduce their pupils into the more serious duties of life, among them the duties of international fraternity and peace. Miss Pierson was accompanied by Miss Goler, one of her pupils, who recited with remarkable power "O Mighty Anglo-Saxon," a rebuke to two great nations who profess to believe in peace, but go on with conquest and oppression. Mr. Edwin D. Mead spoke of history as a record of the decline of war and the triumphs of peace. The Hague Conferences have already shown that the dreamers have not been able to dream fast enough to keep up with the accomplished facts of the peace movement. Rev. Charles E. Beals made a telling argument against war and war preparations by citing the astonishing figures of the ex-

pense of building and maintaining modern battleships. An entertaining feature of this meeting was a young people's chorus, which rendered "A Song of Peace," written for the Congress by Miss Althea A. Ogden.

SUNDAY MEETINGS. A GREAT CONSECRATION SERVICE.

Sunday was observed as it was at the New York Peace Congress. The morning and afternoon were given up to addresses by visiting delegates in the various churches, religious societies and colleges; the evening to a consecration service in the same assembly hall where the meetings of the week were held, and where all could rally for the inspiration of united praise and prayer. Dr. Algernon S. Crapsey was assigned to St. Paul's Universalist Church, Mr. Mead to Union Park Congregational Church, Mrs. Mead to Unity Church, Mr. Beals to the Second United Presbyterian Church, Mrs. Andrews to the Church of the New Thought, Rev. L. O. Williams to Isaiah Temple, Samuel Gompers to the Belden Avenue Baptist Church, Robert C. Root to the Wicker Park Methodist Church, Dr. William I. Hull of Swarthmore to the Normal Park Baptist Church and later also Lake Forest College, and Dr. Trueblood to the Sunday Afternoon Men's Club in the Fourth Baptist Church. The writer went to Trinity Episcopal Church, where he received from the rector, Rev. Z. T. Phillips, that hearty Chicago welcome which was extended by the ministers to all speakers on international peace.

Several pastors took "Peace" for the theme of their sermons. Dr. Frank Gunsaulus delivered in the Auditorium, to a large audience consisting in part of delegates, an eloquent sermon in which he made a startling contrast between the forces that make for war and those that make for peace. "Every force of progressive mankind," he said, "is against war and the wickedness of contention."

The Socialists met by themselves in their halls and would have had a peace meeting out of doors had they been permitted by the police to do so. Their speakers called attention to the growth of militarism and condemned the Dick military law as, in their judgment, the weapon of capitalists against the laboring class in the time of strikes.

The meeting held at Orchestra Hall under the auspices of the Sunday Evening Club—young men of Chicago and their leaders in religious thought—was a popular gathering such as has probably never before been seen at a peace congress. Not a seat was left vacant in the hall and probably a thousand persons were turned away from the doors outside.

A preliminary program was carried out, consisting of an organ recital; Schemerhorn's anthem, "Song of Peace," to the stirring tune of St. Gertrude which Sullivan wrote for "Onward, Christian Soldiers"; the Doxology; the Lord's Prayer; a solo, "The Lord is My Light," by Marion Green; Scripture reading by Mr. David R. Forgan; prayer by Rt. Rev. Charles P. Anderson, Bishop of Chicago; Kipling's "Recessional" (De Koven), and the hymn "Hear, Oh Ye Nations," which was written for the occasion by Frederick L. Hosmer.

The presiding officer of the evening was Mr. Clifford W. Barnes.

The first speaker, Rev. Robert (popularly known as "Bob") Burdette, put the audience into good humor by

means of the quaint wit which marked almost every sentence of his address. He did not make a peace speech in the usual sense of that term; he paid tribute both to war and the soldier, but only to show that the peace workers must transform the kind of young men who are preparing for war into knights of peace. In the development of his thought he said that the peace movement had before it the stupendous undertaking of changing human nature.

Mr. Jenkyn Lloyd Jones, prophet-like in appearance, in breadth of vision and in the use of language, minister identified with every good cause, whether at Lincoln Centre or on the public platform, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Congress, revealed to the audience something of the great spirit of Chicago — of that Chicago that had discovered Lincoln and nominated him for the Presidency, that had touched the sympathies of the nation at the time of its terrible fire, that at the World's Fair by means of its Parliament of Religions had brought together the spiritual forces of the world; of that Chicago that gives its energies to commercialism, but holds in its warm heart a place for sentiments of human service and aspirations to the higher things. Mr. Jones, replying to the thought of Mr. Burdette, with a radical figure of speech, likened the soldier whom he had exalted to the lion, the tiger and the serpent, bebuttoned and uniformed, and therefore hidden in his disguise. But it is our business, he maintained, so far agreeing with the preceding speaker, to create a new moral atmosphere in which the peace idea shall prevail.

Rabbi Hirsch, one of the most distinguished Hebrew preachers in America, a leader in religious and philanthropic circles in Chicago, paid a tribute to Christ as a teacher of friendship and goodwill, which ended in a hearty demonstration by the audience in appreciation of his breadth of view, and made every one who claimed the name of Christian feel the duty of living up to his principles as a follower of the Prince of Peace. In a criticism of the exclusive tendency of national patriotism as affected by victory in war, he showed that the Germany of his fathers was far more comprehensive than the Germany that conquered France. The Jews of to-day suffer more from race prejudice than in former days. In challenging the commonly accepted statement that the present life was evolved out of universal struggle, he said: "This is what we want to counteract, for no blacker lie was ever invented than this; we have gone out and we have learned that even in Babylon and Assyria — those mighty warlike nations — the soldiers, after all, were not the determining factor in the culture and civilization of ancient days, but that the men behind the loom, the poets and priests and sages, made their world, and not the men that went out with swords to kill and to spill blood."

President Schurman of Cornell, the principal speaker of the evening, referring to the evolution of the race, spoke of the book published fifty years ago, in which it was attempted to prove that animal life was a series of struggles and of slaughter, the cunningest and the strongest surviving. "For my part," he said, "I have no doubt that we human beings in our biological history have walked the way of the animals, as we have in common with them our appetites and our instincts. But if man be merely a higher animal, and human history, too, be

merely a struggle for life, and the survival of the strongest and cunningest type, human life is not worth living. Man has something which takes him beyond the life of the animal, and because he has in him that element of things nobler and diviner, we need to change man radically and to alter his habits and modes of looking at history and human life."

Dr. Schurman admitted the difficulties presented to the believers in universal peace by the possibility of events that are calculated to rouse national passions, but he agrees with Bismarck in laying the blame for the European wars of the middle period of the nineteenth century to the press, and is of the opinion that the points at issue in the Spanish American War could have been peacefully settled by President McKinley, Minister Woodford and the Spanish government, had the American people kept their heads cool and their consciences serene. In giving a review of the forces that make for peace to-day, he called attention to the financial strain from which the nations, particularly the United States and Great Britain, are suffering on account of the extraordinary appropriations made by them for armaments, the protests of laboring classes against the burdens of militarism and the growing intercourse among the nations. He did not trust solely to these forces, however. "The moral progress of mankind is assured by man's forming high ideals and hugging them."

Dr. Schurman believed it was out of the question to think of the commingling of Asiatics with Americans; China and Japan will keep their territories for their people and America will keep hers for Americans, but he asked why each within its limitations could not respect the rights of the others like individual gentlemen. Growing international intercourse will make us appreciate one another, and underneath differently colored skins and behind different ideals and practices we shall come to recognize each other as common members of the same great brotherhood of mankind.

These uplifting services closed with the singing of the hymn "These Things Shall Be," by John Addington Symonds, and with the benediction by Right Rev. Edward William Osborne, Bishop Coadjutor of Springfield.

THE FIRST DAY OF THE CONGRESS.

Monday morning was given up chiefly to the registration of delegates. Some of the visitors, Mrs. Mead, Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. Lowell and others, spent part of it in giving addresses in the schools. Mr. W. A. Mahoney of Columbus, Ohio, who has brought the ministers as well as the Board of Trade of his city into effective coöperation with the peace movement, addressed a large gathering of Baptist ministers at their Clericus. Later in the week Mr. Robert C. Root carried the message to normal schools. David Starr Jordan and J. L. Tryon spoke at the University of Chicago.

Monday afternoon at two o'clock the Congress was opened enthusiastically by the singing of the hymn "O Beautiful My Country." Hon. Robert Treat Paine, President of the American Peace Society, presided, and a group of distinguished leaders of the peace movement sat on the platform near him. Mr. Paine had taken a prominent share in the Universal Peace Congress held at Chicago in 1893, and fully realized what Chicago might do as a centre of peace propaganda if it were thoroughly aroused to its opportunity. "Some power which the

world will heed must take the initiative in proposing peace to the world," he said in his opening address. "We meet in Chicago in the hope that this city will move the United States to take the initiative for which the whole world waits. This is the task and privilege of Chicago. Now let Chicago speak." [Applause.]

Governor Deneen of Illinois then welcomed the delegates in the name of the State. He reminded the Congress that in the past peace has come after struggle as in the Civil War. But he emphasized the fact that Lincoln, Grant and McKinley, all of whom were drawn into war by circumstances, were lovers of peace. In the absence of the Mayor, the official welcome of the city of Chicago was given by Edgar A. Bancroft, who, like Mr. Jones the evening before, interpreted the spirit of Chicago as seeking not only commercial success, but the higher things of mind and soul. He insisted that Chicago is the friend of humanity and peace. Rev. A. Eugene Bartlett, one of the city pastors who interested himself strongly in the Congress from the first, spoke hearty words of welcome to the delegates, as chairman of the Hospitality Committee. He urged upon the Congress the importance of bringing the knowledge of the peace movement to the understanding of the common people.

Hon. Jacob M. Dickinson, the President of the Congress, was unable to attend, but the speech prepared by him for the occasion, a complete survey of the growth of arbitration, is already known to the readers of the May number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, in which it appeared. President Taft, as Honorary President, sent the Congress a letter which was read by Secretary Melendy, showing him to be in sympathy with the objects of the peace movement. It was received with a round of applause. "I can only say," ran his concluding sentence, "that as far as my legitimate influence extends, while at the head of this government, it will always be exerted to the full in favor of peace, not only between this country and other countries, but as between our sister nations."

Miss Eckstein, representing in person the interests of her popular petition, which will be handed to the third Hague Conference in 1915, advocated a world-system of arbitration, which system she believed would help to settle, through pacific means, the questions which heretofore have too often been left to the unjust determination of war and would enable the nations safely to begin a reduction of armaments. Her plan of a treaty asks for the protection of the vital interests and national honor of nations.

Dr. Trueblood's address, "The Present Position of the Peace Movement," published also in the May number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, was listened to with close attention, and resulted in winning to the movement many persons who formerly had but imperfectly understood its meaning. Dr. Trueblood, who was organizer of the International Peace Congress of Chicago in 1893, a Congress which was remarkable for its illuminating papers and addresses, gave a survey of the work of recent years, mentioning several of the remarkable events which have taken place since 1893. As he went on from passage to passage, describing success after success, the enormous development of pacific public opinion, the great peace congresses, the Mohonk Conference, the two Hague Conferences, the creation of the Hague Court of Arbitration, the laying of the foundations of a Court of

Arbitral Justice, the eighty arbitration treaties, the Central American Court of Justice and the reception given the peace movement by the British government on the occasion of the London Peace Congress in 1908, the audience followed with almost continuous applause. He was well justified in summing up the results of these years of advancement by saying, "This record made by arbitration is unsurpassed, probably unparalleled, by any other chapter in the history of the progress of civilization during the last hundred years, and before long the wise and learned historians, who have heretofore so largely estimated history by its feuds, battles and slaughters, will find it out."

Dean Rogers of the Cincinnati Law School brought to the Congress the influence of his deep conviction of the righteousness and inevitable success of the peace cause. He dwelt upon the burden of taxation with which militarism presses the people. He traced the development of private law from the crude methods of past days, such as trial by battle and the ordeal, and gave it as his opinion that there is no principle of private law which cannot be applied to questions between nations. "Every established evil which has been suppressed has been compelled to yield," he said, "to a more powerful influence. The influence which is destined to undermine militarism and the spirit of war is that of arbitration." To his mind the cost of one battleship put into teaching people the value of peace would do more for the cause than the building of four or even twenty battleships.

In the evening a large audience, composed both of Chicago people and the delegates, filling the galleries and the floor, listened to the discussion of the fruitful and, as it proved, unique topic, "The Drawing together of the Nations." This topic turned the current of thought from the legal and constructive side of the peace movement to questions of interdependence, racial differences and the conclusions with regard to war of biological science.

Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch was chairman on this occasion, and a better selection could not have been made. With his knowledge of the questions and his sense of humor, as shown in his happy introductory remarks when presenting the speakers, he gave life and spirit to the meeting.

Prof. Paul S. Reinsch of the University of Wisconsin spoke on "Interdependence *vs.* Independence of Nations." "We have entered," he said, "into that paradise of world unity which seemed to past generations so distant — with one hundred and fifty international organizations, permanent in character. The function of statesmanship is to see internationalism coming, to prevent intervening suffering by war and to save the expenses of military establishments. Universal coöperation is the spirit of the age. International law formerly confined itself to laws of war, a small part of it relating to peace. There is a growing tendency to-day to enlarge that part of the law which deals with the normal intercourse of the nations. The time is coming when war will hold in international law the position now held in common law by criminal procedure."

Mr. H. F. Kealing of Nashville, Tenn., in an address on "Racial Progress towards Universal Peace," explained the position of the colored race in the United States with signal ability. He brought out the truth, only imperfectly recognized as yet, that international morals must look with sympathy upon racial conditions within the

country as well as international questions outside of it. "We must learn," he said, "to love, respect, help and encourage every class, clan and color of men, to believe in the equal rights of all men without physical qualification as to races any more than as to men of the same race."

The point of view of the last speaker of the evening, President David Starr Jordan, is familiar to readers of the "Blood of the Nation" and his later work, "The Human Harvest," a lecture by which Dr. Jordan has become as famous as Wendell Phillips for his "Lost Arts" or Edward Everett for his "Washington." On this occasion the title chosen by Dr. Jordan for his speech was "The Biology of War." Spoken entirely without notes, with accuracy of memory, without break, with apt poetic quotations to relieve by an appeal to the imagination his forceful statements in prose, his address was one of the most impressive ever made to a peace congress. The gist of Dr. Jordan's lecture is that war destroys the best and bravest of a country's manhood, and leaves inferior men to raise up an inferior posterity. This fact accounts for the decline of Rome, Greece, Spain and France. It explains why, in some respects, England has degenerated and why the United States has not more men to-day to deal effectively with the forces of corruption. America would be far greater than it is to-day were it not for the losses of good men by the Civil War.

LABOR AND SOCIALISM SPEAK ON PEACE.

While this meeting was in progress, Music Hall was filled with a large audience assembled to learn of the relation of peace to labor and socialism. Miss Jane Addams presided. The speakers included Joseph B. Burtt, Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Samuel Gompers, Prof. Graham Taylor and Carl D. Thompson. Mr. Burtt has done valuable work in interesting fraternal orders in the peace movement, and has before him a field that ought to be cultivated everywhere. Mr. Gompers, representing organized labor, brought out in his address one of the leading thoughts of the occasion. "The question of peace and war," he said, "is peculiarly and particularly a question largely affecting the working people of all countries. Not alone in battle, but long after wars are over, the working people must bear the brunt of the burdens of war. In national and international congresses of peace the representatives of labor are in attendance. They will be with you; they could not escape if they would, and they would not if they could." Mr. Thompson spoke from the point of view of socialism, which he believed to be the greatest agency in the securing of peace.

Prof. Graham Taylor, editor of *The Survey*, went scientifically into the problem of international peace, and endeavored to show that its strongest foundations are being laid imperceptibly and surely by the solidarity and interdependence of industry the world over. "To preserve the very freedom of contract it is impossible," he said, "to bargain individually. Collective bargaining is an economic necessity for both capital and labor. The joint trade agreement is as necessary as a factory system, and it is an integral part of the subdivisions of modern industry. Arbitration and conciliation are parts of the same joint agreement between employers and employees. Industry has become international. Capital is already cosmopoli-

tan. We grasp each other's hands across the gulfs that were formerly filled with blood, and if international peace comes it will be more due to the foundations laid by the blind as well as by the conscious forces of modern industrialism, than to any other cause or force now visibly working in the great race uplift of humanity."

THE CAUSE APPEALS TO BUSINESS MEN.

The session of the Congress Tuesday morning was devoted to commerce and industry, with Hon. George E. Roberts, President of the Commercial National Bank of Chicago, in the chair. Mr. Roberts, in opening the meeting, condemned the expense and wastefulness of war and war preparations. His thought was followed up by Mr. W. A. Mahoney, of Columbus, in a speech on the "Damage and Cost of War to Commerce and Industry," in which he spoke of the wisdom of Canada and the United States in making their agreement not to have navies on the Great Lakes. The arrangement has proved unquestionably of economic advantage to both countries, and is an example for the whole world to follow. "Is there not a better way to influence our fellowmen than that of war and the big stick, and at the same time have our own just rights respected and protected?" Mr. Mahoney asked. "Commerce and industry may be permitted to ask why the need of such an increase in the army and navy, when so many arbitration treaties are being signed. Commerce, which is one of the principal sources of our nation's wealth, and industry, through which mankind provides for the necessities and luxuries, are both burdened and interfered with by preparations for war and war itself."

A. B. Farquhar, a manufacturer of York, Pa., took for his subject, "Pennsylvania's Experiment in Christianity." In a vigorous paper he showed that the experiment of William Penn evidenced the folly and uselessness of war. Marcus M. Marks, President of the New York Association of Clothiers, was unable to attend the meeting, but sent his paper, which was entitled, "Business Men Want Peace." It was read by Mr. Beals. One of the points brought out by the paper was that the better nature of business men protests against war. Mr. Harlow N. Higinbotham said he would rather see the money now spent on national navies used in the care of the sick and unfortunate. Speaking from his experience as head of the Columbian Exposition, he hoped that world expositions hereafter would have no display of the engineering of war. He also believed in a single navy only sufficient to police the seas and prevent the possibility of piracy and illegal commerce, or assist merchant ships in distress.

Belton Gilreath of Birmingham, Ala., was on the program for this session, but the wreck of his train prevented his arriving in time to take part in the speaking.

One of the most interesting episodes of the meeting was the appearance on the platform of Hon. Joseph Allen Baker, member of the House of Commons, who has distinguished himself in Great Britain for his work in bringing there, about a year ago, a large party of German pastors of all denominations. Mr. Baker is desirous of having organized work among the churches carried on in all countries by a common understanding among peace societies and workers. On this occasion he spoke of the importance of a reduction in armaments and proposed that America take the initiative in a movement to that end. "We look to America to take the lead in this

matter," Mr. Baker said. "The nations of Europe are too jealous of each other to take the initial step. If your President in Washington should take a firm stand in this matter and say that this armament must stop, it would stop. It would insure the peace of the world if you would diminish your navy. Give us a word that will be so strong that we will feel it our duty and our privilege to follow the lead of the United States." Mr. Baker in his address described the wastefulness of the Boer war, with its cost of \$1,500,000,000, and the distress to business and industry which followed in its train.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND LAW.

The subject of the afternoon session on Tuesday was "Some Legal Aspects of the Peace Movement." It brought together members of the Congress most deeply interested in the practical side of the cause and was highly instructive. Hon. William J. Calhoun of Chicago was expected to preside, but in his unavoidable absence the chair was taken by Algernon S. Crapsey.

The first paper, that of Prof. William I. Hull of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, author of "The Two Hague Conferences," a book which has already made its place among peace literature, spoke on "The Advance Registered by the Two Hague Conferences," in which he covered by a new method of presentation some of the ground made familiar in his book. It was a most interesting treatment of the theme, and will be one of the permanently valuable papers of the official report of the Congress.

Dr. Hull was followed by Prof. Charles Cheney Hyde of the Law School of Northwestern University, whose topic, "Legal Problems Capable of Settlement by Arbitration," gave him an opportunity to bring before the Congress specific cases in which arbitration has been successful, and to suggest its more general use as a means of settling disputes. Professor Hyde is already known to the readers of the *American Journal of International Law* as one of its contributors, and is one of the few lawyers in the Middle West who give time to the practice of international law.

The third paper, "Some Questions Likely to be Considered by the third Hague Conference," by Hon. James Brown Scott, Solicitor of the State Department, Washington, was read by the present writer in the absence of Mr. Scott. It was a valuable contribution to the Congress, because it came from one who is foremost as an authority upon the Hague Conferences and whose name will always be associated with the High Court of Nations, an idea for which Professor Scott labored patiently and effectively at the second Hague Conference, until he secured a unanimous recommendation of a Court of Arbitral Justice as a substitute, when desirable, for the present Court of Arbitration. Among the subjects which Professor Scott considered as likely to come up at the third Hague Conference, he named a world treaty of obligatory arbitration, which he hoped Germany, who had opposed the measure formerly, would then accept if it did not actually propose. He expressed the opinion that the Court of Arbitral Justice will be organized by the third Hague Conference, if it is not constituted by the powers during the interval between the second and third Conferences. He suggested the possibility of combining this Court with the International Prize Court and make it competent to decide civil as well as prize cases. He expected the Hague

Conferences to be made periodic, which means, eventually, a world congress, to which the workers of peace have been looking forward for two generations. The third Hague Conference, in pursuance of a recommendation made by the second Conference, will probably deal with the question of "the support of the burdens of military operations by foreigners resident within the territories of belligerent nations." As these different constructive measures were referred to they were greeted by the audience with applause, especially when Professor Scott expressed the hope that Germany would join the other powers in a general treaty of obligatory arbitration.

The last part of this session of the Congress was devoted to a reassuring address by Hon. William I. Buchanan, who, like Prof. James Brown Scott, was a delegate to the second Hague Conference, and was familiar with the divisions of opinion that arose in connection with the proposition to establish a Court of Arbitral Justice. Mr. Buchanan explained that the difficulty was due to the insistence upon representation in the Tribunal by the small as well as the large powers. It was decided to have a board of no more than seventeen judges, in order that a full session of the Court might be practicable, but it is impossible to give each one of forty-six nations a judge on the bench. No mathematics could solve such a problem! [Applause and laughter.] Mr. Buchanan differed with many of his fellow-workers in regard to compulsory arbitration. He said that the only practical kind was voluntary. He gave an interesting account of his recent diplomatic mission to Venezuela, when he met a representative of that nation and discussed with him for twenty-seven days the differences between the United States and Venezuela. Both sides during this protracted discussion were able to keep their temper and be perfectly friendly, a fact which impressed the audience with the wisdom of using patience in diplomatic negotiations and brought forth hearty applause. Mr. Buchanan's visit and practical good sense were features of the Congress.

ARMAMENTS AS IRRITANTS.

Tuesday evening will be remembered by one of the most unique and radical addresses of the Conference. It was on "Armaments as Irritants," by Jenkyn Lloyd Jones, and was a fearless arraignment of militarism. The *Chicago Record-Herald*, describing its impression upon the audience, well said of it: "Mr. Jones attacked war like an iconoclast, strewing Orchestra Hall with the fragments of popular ideals which he pulled down by the force of his logic and by the blows of his sarcasm." Abounding in picturesque figures of speech, drawn mostly from common life and readily understood by his hearers, full of comments on the fallacies of some of the preceding speakers and strong in denunciation of evils, Mr. Jones' address kept the great audience in a state of laughter and applause as it took up a succession of unsparing criticisms. Implements of war he stigmatized as implements of butchery. "Tommy Atkins," the British soldier, he characterized as a degenerate, and Hobson as a cheap type of hero, while the United States, instead of "rising" into the state of a world-power by the Spanish-American War, "fell" to it. The philosophy of war he compared to the philosophy of the barnyard. Here is one of his figures: "One woman can lead twelve pigs into a sty easier than twelve men can drive one." "Men dehorn cattle to maintain peace in the barnyard, but

the nations saddle their people with grinding taxes to maintain armaments with which they may destroy industry, despoil homes, ravage smiling fields and degrade the humanity of rising generations." He was a veteran of the Civil War, but he believed that war fostered all vices that are latent in peace, and left as the heritage of the soldier's children an entail of miserable immoralities with which they have to struggle.

The true American glories in the diminutiveness of his army, which is a superfluity. Mr. Jones compared the extravagance of naval expenses to the football craze in universities, where trustees, dons and professors lavish ninety per cent. of their athletic funds on perhaps nine per cent. of their student body, and in periodic fits of madness abandoning their rôles and their sanity and spending hours on the exposed "bleachers" in inclement weather, rendering themselves hoarse over, "not the nine brainiest nor the nine noblest, but the nine beefiest representatives of an institution of learning." He also compared the psychology of militarism to the psychology of the peacock. "Take away the tinsel and the brass buttons and standing armies will melt like hoarfrost under a summer sun." "In after years, writing of the decline of the British Empire, the historians will refer its beginning to the change of the British uniform from red to kahki."

David Starr Jordan, who presided at this meeting, opened it with the remark, "'In time of war prepare for peace,' is no motto for our civilization. No trouble is to be feared on the Pacific Coast." [Applause.]

Edwin D. Mead, speaking on the "Arrest in Competitive Arming in Fidelity to the Hague Movement," brought out the thought which underlies the true leadership of the movement when he said that statistics denote the increase of armaments when the logic of honor and trust should be otherwise. "The failure to decrease the machinery of war as we increase the machinery of law, above all, the actual enormous increase of armaments at such a time by the nations party to the Hague Convention, is rank infidelity to the spirit and purpose of these conventions. One thing alone could justify or excuse it — some obviously new danger. Is there any such new danger? We need not now meddle with other people's affairs. How is it with ourselves? Our increase in naval armament in these ten years has been something portentous. No nation has a worse record; perhaps no other so bad a record, since we, unlike England and Germany, have no provocation or excuse. We have no jealous neighbors, no great merchant marine to guard, no concern about food supply, no exposure to invasion or attack — we are in no danger whatever if we behave ourselves." Mr. Mead expressed the belief that Dreadnaughts, instead of bringing security to a nation, are a menace to it. The visit of Secretary Root to the South American capitals accomplished more constructive results than all the noisy battleships that followed him. [Great applause.] Mr. Mead said that the control of the international situation is in the hands of Great Britain, Germany and the United States. Let them act in accordance with the spirit and purpose of the Hague Conferences, and the peace and order of the world are assured.

The last part of the evening's program was divided between Edwin Ginn, who gave a statement of his comprehensive plan for an International School of Peace,

and Hon. Richard Bartholdt of St. Louis, President of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. Mr. Bartholdt has frequently urged upon peace workers the paramount importance of bringing the cause to the masses of the people. On this occasion he declared it to present the greatest moral issue before the world. It was not his optimism, but his deliberate judgment, which prompted him to believe that when the peace idea had once penetrated the minds and hearts of the people it would sweep the world.

On the same evening a meeting was held in Music Hall, at which President John S. Nollen of Lake Forest, Ill., presided, and the Glee Club of Lake Forest University furnished music. Hamilton Holt gave his illustrated lecture on "The Federation of the World," by which the interesting facts concerning the second Hague Conference and world unity as a development of American political ideals have often been brought by him to the people. President S. P. Brooks of Baylor University, a classmate at Yale with Mr. Holt, spoke on the same platform.

During the afternoon of this day the students of Western colleges and universities had an oratorical contest at Mandel Hall, University of Chicago. This contest was won by Levi T. Pennington of Earlham College, Indiana, who spoke on the "Evolution of World Peace." Second honors were won by Harold B. Flint of Illinois Wesleyan University, who spoke on "America, the Exemplar of Peace." The prizes were announced by President David Starr Jordan. This contest, though attended by comparatively few members of the Congress, as they were otherwise engaged, was considered one of the most profitable occasions of the whole week.

THE WOMEN'S MEETING.

The meeting held at the Woman's Club Rooms was a crowded and enthusiastic one. Mrs. Henrotin, who had done most efficient committee work, presided in her usual gracious manner. Mrs. Philip N. Moore, President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which numbers eight hundred thousand, announced that the next biennial meeting at Cincinnati will present on its program for the first time the question of international peace, for which Mrs. Mead had been besieging them for four years to find a place. She said she had never heard so powerful an argument against war as that presented by President David Starr Jordan the night before.

Mrs. Mead spoke on "Five Dangerous Fallacies" held by the average person who is apathetic about international peace. First, that so long as a city requires a police force the nation will require a navy, which is a police force. She showed that the function of the police is to bring a culprit to court and secure a judicial decision; that of rival navies is to settle questions on the principle of the duelist and avoid judicial decisions. Second, that war will not end until human nature changes. She showed that international war must be sharply differentiated from civil war, and that the end of the former requires no more change in human nature than was required in the thirteen colonies achieving peace with justice through our Constitution. Third, that in time of peace we should prepare for war. Fourth, that government rests on force. Fifth, that the military man or naval man is one who should be considered an authority upon national danger and defense.

Miss Jane Addams spoke very briefly. Miss McDowell of the Stock Yards Settlement showed the effects of the conscription of Lithuanians upon the hordes of unprotected girls who follow their sweethearts here who come to escape military duty. After the close of the meeting nearly the whole audience remained half an hour longer to hear Mrs. Mead discuss an "Outline of Study of International Peace" prepared for club use. She announced that the Chicago Woman's Club had just appointed a Standing Committee on peace and arbitration, which would arrange one public meeting for its one thousand members, and have one group engage in organized study. There was evidence that other clubs desired to follow suit and acquaint themselves with the least understood of all public questions. Miss Goler of New York, a delegate from the Young People's League for International Federation, varied the exercises of the afternoon by the recitation of the poem read by her on the Saturday preceding the Congress.

It was generally regretted that a larger hall had not been selected for the meeting.

THE LAST DAY OF THE CONGRESS.

There was an open session of the Committee on Resolutions on Wednesday morning, the last day of the Congress. Hon. Joseph B. Moore, Justice of the Supreme Court of Michigan, was in the chair. The platform had been previously agreed upon by a committee, of which Judge E. O. Brown, Dr. Trueblood, Mr. Mead and other leaders of the peace movement were members. It remained only for the full session of the Congress to give it approval. There was no discussion as to the platform, but attempts were made to add special resolutions to those already adopted, the result of which was a lively discussion, which arose over a request by the Socialists that their movement be recognized as one of the essential forces in the promotion of peace. It was felt by the majority of the persons present that it would be a mistake to interject into the body of resolutions a partisan view of any question, and the motion was laid on the table, but it was generally understood that the mind of the meeting fully recognized the industrial causes of war and appreciated the efforts of all organizations, socialistic and labor, which make for peace.

The platform adopted is given in full elsewhere. An analysis of it follows: 1. A joint agreement should be made by the nations making the recurrence of war impossible. 2. There should be a general treaty of obligatory arbitration, but, pending its adoption, the broadening of the present arbitration treaties between the United States and other countries until they embrace all disputes, no disputes to be reserved from arbitration unless they involve the national life and independence. 3. Recognition was made of the twenty-four arbitration treaties negotiated by the United States and of the efforts of our representatives at The Hague in 1907 in behalf of arbitration, the immunity from capture of private property at sea, the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice, and the support given by them to the British government in its attempt to secure the limitation of armaments. 4. As its most progressive recommendation, the Congress made a request that the United States government create a commission for the study of the question of the limitation of armaments with the view

to securing an agreement for their arrest at the third Hague Conference. 5. The Congress appealed to the moral, religious and educational forces of the country as well as to the United States government for their support in the peace cause.

The unanimity of thought on the question of armaments was one of the noteworthy characteristics of the Congress. The vast majority of delegates and visiting speakers, whether associated with the peace movement or not, were in favor of stopping the further growth of armaments and of reducing them materially.

The business session was followed by a series of ten-minute addresses by well-known workers in the peace movement, each one of them reporting on some topic upon which he was especially informed or with which he was personally associated. It is impossible, owing to lack of space, to give even the gist of the interesting papers read or addresses made.

The program was as follows: "The Mohonk Arbitration Conference," Mr. H. C. Phillips of Lake Mohonk, N. Y., Secretary; "State Peace Congresses—Pennsylvania's Experience," Mr. Henry C. Niles of York, Pa.; "A Permanent Peace Office in New York," Mr. Wm. H. Short, Executive Secretary of the New York Peace Society; "The Pacific Coast Agency," Mr. Robert C. Root of Los Angeles, Cal., Agent of the American Peace Society; "The Intercollegiate Peace Association," Mr. George Fulk of Cerro Gordo, Ill., Secretary; "The London Peace Congress of 1908," Rev. J. L. Tryon of Boston, Mass., Assistant Secretary of the American Peace Society; "The American School Peace League," Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews of Boston, Secretary; "The Universal Peace Union," Mr. Alfred H. Love of Philadelphia, President; "The Peace Society of Japan," Rev. Gilbert Bowles of Tokio, Japan, Secretary. Messrs. Phillips, Niles and Love were unable to be present. Miss Mary J. Pierson, who was to speak on "Peace Work in the Public Schools," changed her topic for a timely and telling appeal to the peace workers to recognize more than ever before the power of God in the peace movement.

AMBASSADORS AND DIPLOMATISTS.

The interest of the day culminated in the afternoon session. Hon. Richard Bartholdt presided. The distinguished guests of the afternoon, ambassadors and members of legations in Washington, were entertained at lunch in the Gold Room of the Auditorium Annex by the Industrial Club. A few words were said on that occasion both by the German and the Chinese Ambassadors, but the speech-making proper was left to the afternoon. Orchestra Hall was crowded with an eager audience at this time.

The German Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, was the first speaker. His remarks were characteristically German, and consisted of an explanation of the evolution of German ideals of nationality from the time of the Napoleonic invasion, when Germany learned a lesson, and had felt obliged ever since to be prepared for war. "It was every man's duty," the Ambassador said, "to protect home and country with the last drop of blood in his veins." This thought explains the birth of the German nation in arms. Germany fought only for unity. Germany, once united, no other nation had ever put its foot on German soil. Germany had no desire for

war, as was evidenced by the twenty-one years of the peaceful reign of Emperor William.

The address of the German Ambassador, given in a frank, friendly spirit, though in part a justification of war, was kindly received by the audience. After the Ambassador had finished speaking, Mr. Bartholdt expressed the hope that negotiations for an arbitration treaty between the United States and Germany, which were broken off a year ago, might be resumed. [Applause.]

The next speaker, Dr. Wu Ting Fang, who, in his official Chinese costume, was the most picturesque figure on the platform, was introduced by Mr. Bartholdt as a representative of a large empire where militarism is spelled with a small M and peace with a big P; an empire which has remained true to the traditions not only of China, but of our fathers, of "Peace without battleships," who believed that our security rested in our stout hearts, our patriotism, our resources and our geographical location. Dr. Wu Ting Fang, rising to his feet amid a tumult of applause and the waving of handkerchiefs, brought the greetings of "the oldest empire in the world, famed for its love of peace." The attitude of four hundred million people in peace was of some importance to the world at large, he said. The policy of China is to settle disputes by amicable discussion, to live and let live; not that the Chinese are afraid to fight, for when they are compelled to fight they make a good record as soldiers, especially when ably directed, as shown by the men who fought under General Gordon in the middle of the nineteenth century against the Taiping rebellion. China's military policy is an army for defense only on the principle of maintaining peace by being prepared for war. She believes that right makes might, not that might makes right. The Chinese people are taught to despise martial glory and to honor industry. [Applause.]

Ambassador Bryce was unable to be present at the Congress, but sent as his representative Mr. A. Mitchell Innes, counsel for the British Embassy, who made a humorous speech on international habits of suspicion as obstacles to peace.

Mr. Matsubara, the Japanese consul at Chicago, assured the Congress that Japan wished to be friendly with the United States, and read a letter of greeting from Baron Takahira, who was unable to be present. The representative of Japan had a cordial reception.

Dr. Koht, formerly President of the Norwegian Peace Society, now Professor of History in the University of Norway, who for the past six months had been studying American life and methods in this country, spoke for his nation. "Justice," he said, "is the everlasting foundation of universal peace." The parliaments of Norway and United States were the first to declare for arbitration. Peace is the very condition of the life of small nations, but it is only the great nations who are able to establish peace successfully. The United States, once a small and weak nation and needing justice, but now the greatest country, should feel its responsibility for the peace of the future and should carry forward the idea of international justice until it becomes accepted all over the world.

Great interest centered in the speech of Hon. Richard A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, who represented the executive department at Washington. He was cordially and enthusiastically received by his audience.

Quoting the words of Washington and McKinley, he showed that peace and friendship had become the ideal and the law in the United States. He developed the thought that international peace depends upon good international citizenship. The most significant thing of all is a marked increase in the sense of international justice which prevails to-day, a characteristic which stamps our country as a leader in the international life, as shown by our efforts in establishing the Hague Tribunal. In closing his address Mr. Ballinger said, "If it be desirable to abandon the martial spirit and substitute in its place the advanced ideas of humanity upon a higher intellectual and moral plane, as a safeguard for universal peace, we must place the ban upon the Marseillaise in every land, and instead of our children being taught to sing 'Am I a Soldier of the Cross?' they should substitute 'On Earth, Peace, Goodwill towards Men.' If we are to make progress intellectually and morally in the advancement of peace, we should cultivate in song, story, thought and action the ways of peace." The whole tenor of Mr. Ballinger's speech was strongly on the side of the cause.

In dismissing this great meeting Mr. Bartholdt, amid applause, expressed the hope that in the future we shall have no other use for our warships than that of helping countries like Italy in the days of their misfortune.

TWO GREAT BANQUETS.

The climax of the Congress was in the two great banquets held at the Auditorium Hotel and the Auditorium Annex under the auspices of the Chicago Association of Commerce, which contributed a handsome sum towards making the occasion as brilliant and attractive as possible. It was said that Chicago had never before seen at a dinner such an assemblage of notable people as gathered there. Mr. Edward M. Skinner, President of the Association of Commerce, presided at the Auditorium banquet, and Mr. Harry A. Wheeler presided in the famous Gold Room of the Auditorium Annex Hotel. Rev. Charles E. Beals said grace in the one and Rev. Jenkyn Lloyd Jones in the other. Some of the speakers spoke at both banquets. Among the principal speakers at the Auditorium, who were not heard at the other banquet, were General Frederick D. Grant, who had little sympathy from his audience when he defended war, and Hon. James A. Tawney, chairman of the Appropriations Committee of Congress, who has done more than any other American to bring to the public attention the enormous amount of money spent by the United States on past wars and preparations for future war. Mr. Tawney made one of his strongest speeches that evening against military expenditures. Among the other notable speakers at the banquets were the German Ambassador, Dr. Wu Ting Fang, Mr. Innes, Baron Houissin de St. Laurent, representing the French embassy, Mr. Matsubara, representing Japan, Dr. Koht of Norway and Secretary Ballinger. The Swedish minister was expected to be present, but was prevented by illness.

An original poem, entitled "For Peace," written for the occasion by Miss Harriet Monroe of Chicago and read by her, contained lines of genuine poetic merit and gave literary finish to the speaking.

It was at these banquets that the announcement was made, which was greeted with enthusiastic applause, that the Swedish Consul, cashier of the State Bank of Chicago,

John R. Lindgren, had that day given to Northwestern University a fund of twenty-five thousand dollars for the purpose of founding a permanent series of lectures on peace, of securing the annual payment of prizes for essays upon questions of international peace, and of promoting interdenominational fellowship among churches.

Just as the speaking at the banquet in the Gold Room was about to close, Hon. Richard Bartholdt made one of the most practical suggestions presented in the Congress. It was that everywhere throughout the United States peace committees and societies be organized by congressional districts with a view to encouraging legislation in Congress in favor of peace measures and of the limitation of armaments, the district societies to be organized later, as the movement becomes more popular, into state societies, until the whole country becomes one great national peace association which shall exert an influence which will be felt throughout the world. With this suggestion in mind, deeply impressed also by the many inspiring speeches of the week, the workers who were gathered at Chicago from more than thirty States of the Union went back to their homes resolved to do their utmost in the future for the promotion of international peace.

Peace Society of the City of New York.

Notes of the Annual Meeting.

BY WILLIAM H. SHORT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY.

The annual meeting of the New York Peace Society on April 21 was the largest and most important which the Society has held. A report of the work of the office was read by W. H. Short, on meetings held by the Society during the year by Rev. Frederick Lynch, for the treasurer by Mr. Marcus M. Marks, and on the policy of the Society by Prof. Samuel T. Dutton. Professor Dutton said in part:

"I wish to call attention briefly to some of the tasks which lie before us and the opportunities which are open to the Society for future work.

"First, our staff of speakers needs to be greatly enlarged so that we can more readily supply the demands which come to us from churches, clubs and other organizations for addresses. There is abundance of talent in New York, and many men and women of ability can be enlisted in this work. Our speakers should meet together and discuss the subject-matter for propaganda and the best methods of presenting it to the public. Nothing is more desirable than that those who represent the peace cause should entertain broad and generous views of the international movement, and should make those appeals which should tend not to antagonize, but rather to win the patriotic support of all good citizens.

"Second, our literary bureau needs to be developed. The printing press is the great modern means of publicity. In this great city, the home of so many literary people, we should enlist those who can write forcibly, whose articles will be accepted in our best papers and periodicals. A part of this work would consist in finding proper channels for the publication of such material as can be produced.

"The Peace Society of the city of New York, organized in the metropolis of this greatest republic, should take a commanding position not only in the country, but

in the world. It should illustrate what can be done by way of perfect and efficient organization; it may properly reach out to the larger cities of New York State and organize branch societies, which may work in coöperation with us; it should labor unceasingly to bring the press of the city to take a sympathetic, constructive and sincere attitude toward the international movement; it should appeal strongly to all clergymen, educators, statesmen and leaders in industry and commerce; for the cause for which we work is just and reasonable, and no good man, when once he understands it, can hesitate to join with us.

"It would not be difficult to form a group of men of such commanding influence and authority that they would be heard in Washington, and it may be that our Society, having as its president one of the most respected and most powerful friends of peace in the world, ought to initiate such a movement. Such a body could easily get into conference, not merely with Senators and Representatives, who need to be urged and quickened to moderate and conservative courses, but they could gain the ear of the Chief Executive, and I am sure they would be heard with consideration and gratitude. I believe the people of this republic, in so far as they understand it, are much troubled about the present policy of exhausting our national treasury for the sake of vying in armament with those nations which from their earliest existence have depended upon the power of force. Moreover, in accordance with the most fundamental of all our aims, our Society owes a duty, not merely to this city and State and to the country as a whole, but to those nations, especially England and Germany, which seem to be inextricably entangled in the meshes of international misunderstanding, suspicion and fear."

Addresses were made by Mlle. R. V. D. Veer de Vere and by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the president of the Society. Mr. Carnegie's address, "The Wrong Path," was given nearly in full in the May *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, and was widely reported in the press of the country.

After the delivery of Mr. Carnegie's speech, the following resolutions were introduced by Mr. Horace White, formerly of the New York *Evening Post*, and adopted unanimously by the Society:

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of the Peace Society of New York, the rivalry between Britain and Germany in constructing ships of war, the action of one being contingent upon that of the other, affects the position of the other naval powers so seriously as to call for their prompt consideration.

"*Resolved*, That it should not be permissible for any power to compel all other naval powers to increase their armaments correspondingly, or, as the only alternative, to permit themselves to become practically defenseless.

"*Resolved*, That we earnestly hope that the President of our Republic, whose peace-loving Congress has repeatedly refused to build more than one-half of the battleships asked for by the Executive, may find it advisable to take the question into serious consideration with a view to exert his vast influence to avert either of the two alternatives stated.

"*Resolved*, That in the League of Peace, suggested by the Prime Minister of Britain to the last Peace Conference in London, this Society sees the true and most feasible solution of the problem."

The annual dues of the Society were by unanimous vote increased and classified as follows: Annual membership, \$2.00 a year; associate membership, \$5.00 a year; sustaining membership, \$10.00 a year; life membership, \$100.00 (whenever the amount of the annual